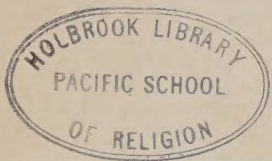


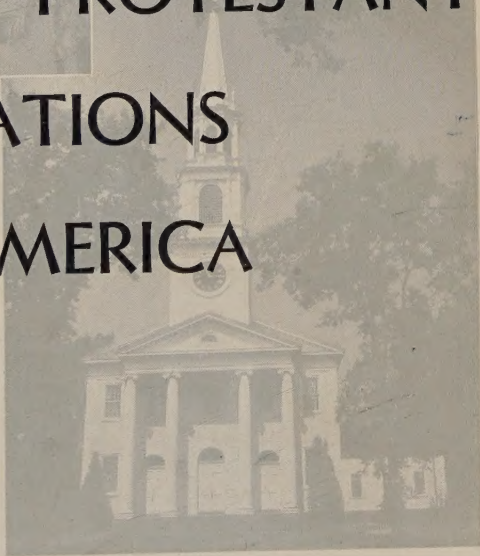
SOCIAL ACTION

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CATHOLIC- PROTESTANT RELATIONS IN AMERICA



W. E. Garrison
George N. Shuster
Conrad Bergendoff

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Catholic-Protestant Relations in America

Public and private statements about Catholic-Protestant relationships have grown constantly more acrimonious in recent years, and mounting tensions have led at the present time to one of the most critical situations in American life. *Social Action* has performed a very valuable public service in devoting this issue to this troubled realm. W. E. Garrison, with scholarship and with genuine appreciation of both positions, has given a needed historical perspective. Conrad Bergendoff has presented a Protestant view of the contemporary situation. George N. Shuster has described the contemporary situation from the point of view of a Roman Catholic layman.

Some of the differences which account for the tensions are visible within the framework of this warm-hearted, tolerant symposium: the differences of point of view regarding Spain (and the implications for religious tolerance); the dispute over American representation at the Vatican; the difficulties regarding interchurch relations; the divergent attitudes of Catholics and Protestants regarding the relationship of religious bodies to the State. These differences all rest on a basic and at present irreconcilable difference between Catholic and Protestant concerning the nature of the Church.

The differences in action which follow from these different premises are becoming constantly clearer in the United States, on the community level, on the national level and on the international level. It is imperative that every effort be made to resolve the growing conflict with charity, with understanding, with good will. Otherwise the cause of American democracy will suffer severely; and beyond that, the cause of Christ (to which both Catholic and Protestant profess complete devotion) will become increasingly weakened and ineffective in a desperately difficult day.

—FREDERICK M. MEEK

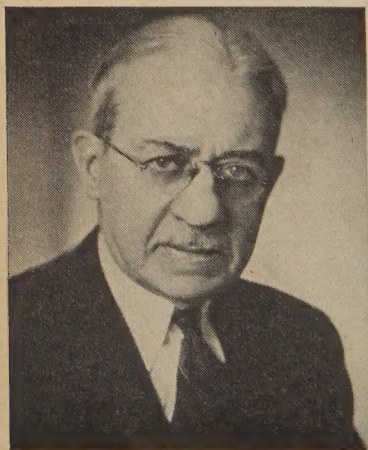
Dr. Meek is minister of the Old South Church in Boston, and chairman of the Council for Social Action.

The History of Anti-Catholicism in America

By W. E. GARRISON

The antagonisms between Roman Catholics and non-Catholics in the United States have deep historical roots that go back far earlier than the formation of the Union and spread far beyond its boundaries. These roots must be briefly indicated before sketching some of the unhappy situations that have arisen in America.

It was a unique and unprecedented event when the federal Constitution forbade Congress to make any law "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" or making a religious requirement for eligibility to federal office. Christendom had never seen anything like it. This arrangement not only departed from the practice which had prevailed in most of the American colonies, nine of which had had established churches. What is more important, it broke away from a social and political philosophy which had dominated Christendom for more than a thousand years.



The Author

W. E. Garrison has had several careers: as college president and preparatory school headmaster (1904-1921), as teacher of church history (University of Chicago, 1921-1943), as sculptor, and as author and editor. He has been literary editor of *The Christian Century* since 1923. His books include *Catholicism and the American Mind* (1928), *The March of Faith* (1933), and *Intolerance* (1934). He is one of the outstanding figures of his denomination, the Disciples of Christ.

Tradition of Religious Uniformity

Ever since the latter part of the fourth century it had been regarded as an axiom that religious solidarity is essential to the stability and coherence of the civil state and the social order. This was one of the two main justifications for the forcible suppression of dissent and the liquidation of heretics throughout the Middle Ages. (The other, of course, was to save souls from the damning effects of heresy.) The employment of the police power of the government to insure the religious homogeneity of the state was rationalized by the theory that the state itself would disintegrate if its religious unity were not maintained. Heresy or schism was therefore a kind of treason, and it was treated accordingly. The Reformation did not end the dominance of this view. The Roman Catholic Church and those countries in which it exercised a controlling influence still maintained and practiced it in so far as conditions permitted, and they still do.*

The Protestant states also, in the sixteenth century and for a considerable time thereafter, practiced the same principle against all who dissented from their established churches. But in the Protestant states the rise of democratic influences and the weakness of the church in relation to the government greatly limited the application of the theory and even modified the theory itself. The verdict of experience, as formulated by secular thinkers and statesmen, was that the existence of dissent from the established church did not, in fact, constitute such a

*For a current example: An Associated Press dispatch dated Madrid, November 14, 1947, says: "Spanish Catholics are protesting to the government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco against what they call a 'Protestant offensive' in Spain, and are asking strict adherence to the law which forbids the public conduct of Protestant rites. . . . The law in question is embodied in Article Six of the Spanish Bill of Rights established by the Franco government. It states that Catholicism is the official religion and that, while no one will be molested for religious beliefs or the private exercise thereof, 'ceremonies and manifestations other than those of the Catholic religion will not be permitted.' Franco recently was criticized by the Communion of Navarre, a branch of the Carlists, who are crusading Catholics, for telling a United States writer that freedom of religion existed in Spain."

social and political peril as had been supposed. In England, this discovery was embodied in public law and national policy in 1689, though Protestant dissenters and Jews still labored under some legal disabilities, and Roman Catholics under even more until the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

Developments in American Colonies

The British colonies in America were planted under the old regime and accepted, for the most part, its basic principle of compulsory religious unity. But tolerance developed more rapidly in the colonies than in the mother country, and more rapidly in some colonies than in others. Rhode Island and Pennsylvania took the lead, being tolerant from the start. Maryland began well. Its Roman Catholic proprietor, holding his grant under a Protestant king, wished to give religious liberty to all Christians; obviously he could not have held his proprietorship under a Protestant British regime if he had tried to make it an exclusively Catholic colony. When he lost it anyway in 1654, during the Puritan interregnum, the Protestant legislative body in the colony barred Roman Catholics, along with every sort of non-Trinitarian. This narrow-minded and proscriptive act—"bigoted" perhaps—occurred just four years after Pope Innocent X, in his bull, *Zelo Domus Dei*, had declared the Peace of Westphalia null and void because it gave liberty to Protestants in some parts of the Empire. Again, when Maryland became a crown colony in 1691, liberty of conscience was assured "to all persons except Papists." This was just six years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France, putting an end to Protestant liberties, had climaxed a determined and brutal campaign for the extermination of the Huguenots in that country. These events in Europe were well known in America, because many Protestant refugees had found sanctuary in the colonies. These and similar parallels should be kept in mind so that dwellers in glass houses, on either side of the ecclesiastical road, may not be tempted to throw stones too recklessly.

WITHOUT CHARITY . . .

"A good deal of Protestantism is little more than anti-Catholicism; and Catholicism is very fond of historical theories which ascribe all the ills of our generation to the destruction of a Catholic civilization by the force of the Protestant Reformation and modern secularism. This inclination to find the root of all evil in the sins of the other and not in those of the self is as wrong as it is natural. . . . Catholics may boast of the superiority of their discipline and unity; and Protestants may boast of their superior liberty. But without charity the virtues of each become corrupted by an intolerable self-righteousness. The virtues of each have, indeed, become thus corrupted. . . .

"Let us defend ourselves against any political actions of Catholicism which tend to encroach upon our

liberties; but let us achieve a greater consciousness of our own weaknesses and our tendency to cover our weaknesses by our apprehensions about a religious foe or competitor. It is not a very nice fact about human nature that religious communities should be in conflict with one another, partly for the same reasons that there is hatred between racial communities. In each case inner insecurities and a guilty conscience are transmuted into social hatreds. But in the case of religious hatreds these fears of the other are doubly reprehensible because the faith which should cure us of our fears is made into a bearer of them."

—Reinhold Niebuhr, "Our Relations to Catholicism," in *Christianity and Crisis*, September 15, 1947.

Growth of Tolerance

Even Puritan New England, where general religious liberty had been no part of the original program, learned rather rapidly that dissent was not in itself dangerous to the social order. Roger Williams was exiled from Massachusetts in 1636, and in 1661 the death penalty was enacted for Quakers who should return after banishment. But after 1680 the laws against Baptists and Quakers were either repealed or ignored; the Puritan community itself was already moving toward religious liberty and even, though still timidly, toward separation of church and state—the two ideas of which these two radically Protestant bodies had been pioneer champions. There were then few, if any, Roman Catholics in New England, and there was little hospitality for any who might come. The Puritans recognized in the Roman Catholics a group which, wherever dominant, had the same aversion to religious lib-

erty and the same insistence upon the state's allegiance to one church that they themselves had originally had—but to a different church. Roman Catholics were therefore even more suspect than Protestant dissenters. The new charter of 1691 granted "liberty of conscience to all Christians except Papists," thus duplicating the action of the same year for Maryland. Though this tolerance was explicitly limited to Christians, a Jew was a Boston taxpayer in 1674; and another Jew, who had already been made a "freeman" in New York, received an honorary M.A. degree from Harvard in 1720—which was 150 years earlier than Oxford made Jews eligible for degrees.

Peter Stuyvesant's New Amsterdam was a strictly closed preserve for the Dutch Reformed, with some concessions to the kindred English Presbyterians who settled in the colony, but even the peg-legged governor mollified his policy somewhat before the coming of British rule brought a more liberal regime. Roman Catholics were still disfranchised, however, and priests were forbidden entry to New York during most of the period of British rule; but New York's revolutionary constitution of 1777 anticipated the federal Constitution by declaring that "the free toleration of religious profession and worship shall forever hereafter be allowed within the State to all mankind."

It is therefore wide of the mark to speak of "the fanatical anti-Catholic spirit of the thirteen colonies," the "barbarous treatment of Catholics," and "the ferocious anti-Catholic trend"—all phrases which are used by a recent Jewish writer (Abram V. Goodman, *American Overture, Jewish Rights in Colonial Times*, 1947). The truth is that the lamentable intolerance of the American colonists was not their own creation but was a heritage from which they were only gradually freeing themselves. The immediate heritage was from England where, from the reign of Elizabeth to the end of the seventeenth century and even later, Roman Catholicism was viewed as a national peril. The longer and broader heritage was that of an

age-old pre-Reformation tradition according to which intolerance was both a Christian duty and a political necessity. The colonists were slowest in abandoning this tradition in their relations with the members and priests of that church which had originated it and which still maintained it unabated and practiced it rigorously in every country that it controlled.

First Years of the Republic

The first federal census (1790) showed a population of 3,929,000. Less than 10 per cent were actual members of any church. There were about 30,000 Roman Catholics. Protestants outnumbered Roman Catholics by about ten to one, and non-communicants (mostly of Protestant antecedents) outnumbered both together by about the same ratio. There was little friction before 1820. By that time the states had repealed their discriminatory laws, except for one or two slight vestiges. The old theory that minority religious groups were dangerous *as such* no longer had the slightest influence on public policy or on the popular mind. Every church in the nation was a minority group. Henceforth, hostility to any particular sect would have to be based upon specific grounds. The alleged grounds might be true or false, but at least they must be specific. Specific issues soon arose which added up to what some began to call "the Catholic menace."

Revival of anti-Catholic Feeling

The particular points upon which discussion centered and about which passions raged were these: the anti-democratic attitude of the popes at that time; the internal administration of convents; the school question; the growing numbers and political power of recent Roman Catholic immigrants, especially Irish; belief that the priests, largely foreign-born, exercised under orders from Rome an inordinate degree of political control through the votes of the "ignorant and docile" Catholic laity. There was an element which came to fear that the Roman Catholics in America would take advantage of the new

nation's democratic regime and its policy of religious liberty until they had become strong enough to extinguish both. The *New York Observer* (November 3, 1824) said: "Protestants ought to remember that it is the Papal policy to be mild until they have the power to be severe."

The papacy was passing through one of its most reactionary periods while it and the monarchies of Europe were recovering from the Napoleonic upheaval and were bracing themselves against the wave of liberalism which followed it. From 1823 to 1846 the papacy was in active alliance with the major anti-liberal forces in Europe. Leo XII issued an encyclical in 1824 condemning religious toleration and liberty of conscience. Gregory XVI called in Austrian bayonets to suppress the rising of the Italian states against their tyrants. And this, said the "anti-Catholic" agitators, is the fountain of divine wisdom and authority for the swelling horde of new Roman Catholic voters in the United States! Dr. Lyman Beecher preached a series of sermons at the Park Street Church in Boston, 1830-31, arguing that Romanism is linked with despotism and is hostile to American political principles. Other preachers followed the same line. True or false, this belief became an important factor. Catholic writers, even in America, did little to prove it false. Only a little later (1845), when the controversy was hottest, Orestes Brownson wrote: "Democracy is a mischievous dream wherever the Catholic Church does not predominate to inspire the people with reverence and to teach and accustom them to obedience to authority."

Furor over Convents

The convent issue came near to being pure fanaticism. There is always a chance for prurient curiosity about what goes on behind closed doors. A train of trivial circumstances, none of which involved any valid charge or reasonable suspicion against the institution, led to an anti-convent furor in Boston. Its first and most disgraceful fruit was the burning of an Ursuline convent school in Charlestown, Mass., in 1834,

by what is generally described as a "Protestant" mob. It was certainly a mob. How many of the waterfront bums who constituted it were Protestants must remain a matter of conjecture. It was, however, one of the most disgraceful episodes in the whole history of religious controversy in America. But the amount of violence directed against convents was slight compared with the flood of scurrilous words that were released, both oral and printed. Scandal-mongers, professing to reveal orgies in convents, made their appeal chiefly to that pathological appetite for sensational sex stories that kindred panderers to depravity capitalized a little later in anti-Mormon literature and still later (even unto now) in lubricious fiction and movies.

Battle over Schools

The school question was another sphere of controversy. In early America, education had been largely in the hands of the churches. When the schools got public money, there were tax-supported schools under religious auspices, some Protestant, some Catholic, but mostly Protestant because there were more Protestants. The American common school system was in the making under the leadership of Horace Mann, first in Massachusetts where he was secretary of the new board of education (1837-48), then in other states. Protestants generally accepted the new system of religiously neutral public schools. Roman Catholics generally did not. When the matter came to a head in New York, Archbishop Hughes organized a Catholic party which nominated its own candidates for the legislature on the platform of "public money for Catholic schools." The campaign was not successful. After 1842, Catholic efforts were turned to the development of an independent parochial school system. This plan was commended by the Baltimore Councils of 1852 and 1866, and commanded by the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome in 1875. The assertion of the right to public money for Catholic schools was never

abated, but the campaign to get it was in abeyance for several years. It has been a recurrent cause of friction.

Immigration increased rapidly in the 1830's and much more rapidly after 1840. The largest contingent came from Ireland, especially after the great potato famine of 1845, and nearly all the Irish were Roman Catholic. The result was that the Roman Catholic Church made a quick gain, both in absolute numbers and in ratio to the population. The new immigrants of this period tended to concentrate in the eastern cities. They quickly became voters, for the naturalization laws were liberally drawn and loosely administered. The priests also were newcomers to the country. It was apparent to many that the character of America was being changed by this sudden arrival of a flood of aliens. Supersensitive Americans of longer standing thought they could foresee the time, not far distant, when immigrant Roman Catholics could out-vote the native-born and turn this into a "Catholic country" with corresponding curtailment of liberties for all but Catholics. It did not seem to them likely that immigrant priests owing allegiance to the fiercely anti-democratic Pope Gregory XVI would fail to lead their people in that direction.

Rise of anti-Catholic Movements

These developments provided the background for all the "nativist" movements with anti-Catholic coloration which flourished and faded until the slavery question pushed all other issues into the background. The Native American Party, 1834, demanded a residence of 21 years before naturalization and "an abridgment of the rapidly increasing political influence of the papal power in the United States." It made a fair showing in a campaign with Samuel F. B. Morse as its candidate for mayor of New York, and then collapsed. It was an early product of 100-percentism, race prejudice (against the Irish), labor unrest and suspicion of political Catholicism.

The American Republican Party (1843) arose while the school question was still hot. In addition to the demand for 21

years of residence before naturalization, it proposed to support for public office no person "directly or indirectly subjected to or influenced by the laws or powers, temporal or spiritual, of any foreign prince, power or potentate," and no person not a native-born citizen. It elected James Harper (of the publishing house) as mayor of New York and had considerable success in other cities. In Philadelphia it encountered violent resistance which led to the "Kensington riot" on May 7, 1844. It failed in an effort to make itself a national party, and by 1847 it had virtually disappeared.

The Order of United Americans, 1844, was not a party but a secret society with educational and beneficiary features. It declared: "We will assail no man for his religious opinions." But it opposed the things Catholics were trying to gain by political action and fostered the idea that Catholicism was a "menace." It enlisted a large number of members throughout the nation and, trying to hush the slavery issue, claimed credit for the Compromise of 1850. It never became a political party and it faded out after a few years.

The Know-Nothings

Much of the constituency of the United Americans moved into the Know-Nothing organization which, initiated in 1849, did not become national or strong until it had been vitalized by the United Americans. Then it had a mushroom growth. It utilized the anti-Catholic theme chiefly as a means of diverting attention from the slavery question and as a non-sectional issue upon which it hoped to prevent a cleavage of the country along the Mason and Dixon line. This shift of emphasis furnished a welcome diversion at a tense moment, and thousands flocked to its standard, not so much because they were excited about the dangers of foreign and Roman Catholic influence as because they were grateful for anything that would help them to forget the slavery issue and persuade them that the contest with which the country was resounding would soon die down if people would quit listening to it. Under the official name of

the "American Party," the Know-Nothings had great success in many states in 1855. Then the party spread tremendously in the south, where there were relatively few aliens or Catholics. Its popularity rested almost wholly upon its proposal to prevent national division by freezing the status quo on slavery, though it still announced its "resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church" and declared its support of none but native American and non-Catholic candidates. The overshadowing importance of the slavery issue brought the sudden disappearance of the party which had tried to keep it in a subordinate place.

The American Protective Association

We may skip the less important organizations—the United American Mechanics, the United Sons of America, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, etc.—which were aimed, with varying emphases, against foreign labor or foreign and Roman Catholic influence in politics, and mention, in closing, the American Protective Association. Of the A.P.A., which flourished briefly in the 1890's, no more need be said than that, while it was bitterly anti-Catholic, its personnel was largely a body of young men looking for some excitement with a patriotic flavor. Its middle initial did not stand for "Protestant," as was sometimes supposed, and there was no reason why it should, for to the best of my knowledge, there was not a man in its leadership who had any standing whatever among the leaders of any Protestant denomination. Its impulse, beyond what has been mentioned, was the simple belief that Roman Catholics in public office always want to give special favors to other Catholics and to the church and are influenced by Vatican principles which are not those of American democracy, and therefore it aimed to keep Catholics out of office by marshalling votes against them regardless of party.

No attention needs to be given to the Ku Klux Klan, because anti-Catholicism had so small a place in it, and because it was so largely a racket.

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

As A Catholic Sees It

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

What Protestants think and say about Catholics, and vice versa, is an ancient topic and always a difficult one. It can be stated in many different terms, even in those of power politics. Perhaps, at least I shall trust so, one might sometime set the problem against the background of our ultimate hope for Christian unity, and believe then that for the time being one might think amicably of a kind of rivalry in the manifestation of the Christian spirit. Was not Von Hügel right when he spoke of the common faith in these words:

A Person came, and lived and loved, and did and taught,
and died and rose again, and lives on by His Power and His
Spirit for ever within us and amongst us, so unspeakably rich

The Author



Lotte Jacobi, N. Y.

George N. Shuster is one of America's best-known Catholic laymen. He taught English for several years at the University of Notre Dame, and he has been one of the editors of *The Commonweal* since 1925. He has written more than a dozen books, and has edited and translated many more. Volumes from his own hand include *The Catholic Spirit in America* (1927) and *The English Ode from Milton to Keats* (1940). Since 1940, Dr. Shuster has been president of Hunter College in New York.

and yet so simple, so sublime and yet so homely, so divinely above us precisely in being so divinely near,—that His character and teaching require, for an ever fuller and yet never complete understanding, the varying study, and different experiments and applications, embodiments and unrollings of all the races and civilizations, of all the individual and corporate, the simultaneous and successive, experiences of the human race to the end of time.

Nothing more dire and drastic could be said about Catholic-Protestant relations in America than that they are not conceived of in the light of this or any comparable text. True enough, it is difficult to do so because of what has happened in the past. Protestants have looked upon allegiance to the See of Rome as bondage; and Catholics have labelled those who repudiated that allegiance heretics or worse.

Little Evidence of Brotherly Feeling

Our time is, however, too remote from the original clash, the primal act of dissidence, to make it necessary to speak of the cleavage as casting either praise or blame on groups now existing. We know that the great heroes of the German Confessional Church are martyrs of the Christian Church as a whole. The Papacy, addressing itself to Protestants, speaks of "separated brethren." But in the United States there is little evidence of brotherly feeling, though there is some bland and unctuous talk on both sides. Harsh terms like "bigotry" and "authoritarianism" are exchanged. One might have fancied that the shared war experience would have created a solidarity akin to the amity which grew out of the French Resistance. There were signs of it but they appear to have been brushed aside.

The situation is bad and we might as well admit it. The trouble does not arise out of such minor clashes as that over birth control legislation. For such a dispute is inevitable in a democracy when differing concepts of social morality struggle to get themselves written into law. The Catholic clergy do not wish doctors to recommend the use of contraceptives to Catho-

lic women; and it would appear that most of the Protestant clergy have no such feeling in the matter. The outcome of the debate will depend upon who has the most votes. Meanwhile, of course, the making and selling of contraceptives for purposes which neither side endorses goes merrily on. What would be truly deplorable would be forgetting in either camp that the real purpose of moral teaching is to wean the human creature from evil pursuits, and so ceasing to be a leaven and a ferment.

Failure of Religious Leadership

And precisely because Protestants and Catholics lack awareness of how they both are, at their best, Divine yeast and salt, their failure is so great and so deplorable. Who can deny that the religious spokesmen for both confessions are to a great extent responsible for the extremely naive way in which Americans generally estimate what is now happening in the world? So widespread is the conviction that "science" of some sort can "make everything turn out all right" that we have witnessed the universal dissolution of the moral order without seeing what was going on and therefore without being able to put up effective resistance. Did the church in this country offer clarification? It is true that the voices of men like Reinhold Niebuhr and Father John LaFarge have had a glorious ring in them. But they did not carry very far. There has been in this country no leadership like that given by the Cardinal of Westminster, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Chichester or the Cardinal Archbishop of Muenster. And even on humbler ground who was there that spoke a language which all Christians recognized immediately as Christian?

Rise of Acrimony

The moral debacle of the war is therefore hardly surprising. But even this failure would have been less disheartening if it had not been accompanied by a steady rise of acrimony. We got into a fearful dither about Spain, though the ignorance of all

of us about it could hardly have been deeper. The weight of Catholic opinion in a free America was thrown on the side of a brutal and crafty dictator, while a good many Protestants went all out for God knows what. To enumerate every one of the comparable acts of collective stupidity would do no good. The total net result was that in the midst of appalling, all-engulfing tragedy we threw a few stones at one another. We argued about Protestant missionaries in South America and about observers at the Vatican, and in so doing lost steadily in prestige and honorableness.

Here we are, a relative handful of Catholics and Protestants in a great mass of Americans who have retained the Biblical heritage only in so far as a few swear words are concerned. And here we are, too, a small handful in a grim world that has kept hardly anything of dignity save the nobility of those of our harassed fellow-Christians who suffered persecution for justice's sake. Did we at least talk about them together? We hardly realized, I am afraid, that they were there. It is a bitter truth but it needs saying: we went round like prattling children on a beach against which the tides and the storms were about to unleash themselves. Many of the idle words we used are so shocking in retrospect that it is probably better to forget them. But they will not be ignored. They will rise and plague us anew unless we can at last get hold of ourselves.

Attitudes Toward the Clergy

If we now ask why all this was so—and I am afraid it is so—we may perhaps find part of the answer in an examination of religious criticism. Protestant clerical leadership has been steadily undermined from within and without. Some of these buffetings were no doubt salutary. But during half a century the ministry has been accused continuously of being a sort of blend between Pecksniff and a specially innocuous senator; and the result is that the average educated person is amazed when he suddenly encounters a Protestant clergyman and discovers a man of virtue and sense. I have often wondered how so admir-

able a group as my Protestant ministerial friends could manage to get themselves so grossly caricatured. On the other hand, Catholics have fled from criticism as from the plague, in large measure because of what they see has happened outside. There are eminent and distinguished laymen who will not participate in criticism of anything said or done by a priest or a bishop simply because they do not wish to weaken in any way the moral authority of the Church. The result is that, except in a few dioceses, there is nothing resembling Catholic discussion in the United States, a fact which always startles the European visitor. Since it must be assumed that a priest speaking in a major diocese has the sanction of the bishop, what he says acquires, even when there is no intention that it should, an official air. You don't share in an official utterance. You file it away for reference, with the catechism and the Lives of the Saints.

Attitudes Toward the Papacy

This is the fundamental dichotomy. I think it explains why the confessions have said so little to each other, or to the country as a whole. On the Protestant side there is so much disarray that anybody in a clerical suit can make a lot of quite public noise. And on the Catholic side hardly anybody is able to emit even one unconventional whistle. Let us illustrate by alluding to the prevailing attitude towards the Papacy. Catholics generally nod when a new encyclical is issued in Rome and then go about their business. Since there is no discussion of the import of a Papal utterance, there is also no vital interest. Many Protestants, however, have got themselves in such a lather about the Vatican that they are ready to believe anything—even that the Pope put Hitler in office. If you explain that the Pope personally will argue with a visitor about a point of view, they put you down as a crackpot or a fanatic. And so when Pope Pius invites Catholic-Protestant cooperation, as he several times has, literally nobody pays the slightest attention. I too wish that the Vatican could make a more overt move towards cooperation. But I sometimes wonder how much response

it would get on either side.

I have written quite frankly because I am worried. It seems to me so obvious that we shall either have a Christian social order or nothing at all short of a malignant totalitarianism that I find the present state of affairs appalling. Of course there ought to be controversy. The Christian cause can only profit by open, courteous but firm debate between good and learned men. But wrangling is another matter. It makes Christianity ridiculous in the eyes of the general public because it is ungenerous and intolerant. As a result the forces of secularism wax stronger.

No Religious Common Denominator

Is there anything to be done about it? Not easily. In a country like Germany, Catholics and Protestants have learned a very hard lesson. Over here we may attempt to substitute a less costly form of education. It can be conceived of on three levels, after one has formulated a necessary premise. The premise must be: a religious common denominator does not exist, and should be frowned upon like the plague. There is no point in saying that the Catholic, the Lutheran and the Quaker all believe the same thing and worship in the same way. They don't. The Pope's phrase is accurate and fine—we are separated brethren. Endeavors to create an artificial "basic Christianity" resemble all other forms of emasculated eclecticism. But we should try hard to bring Protestants and Catholics into even outwardly closer fellowship. I wish there were some way of building a church so that one end of it would be Presbyterian and the other end Catholic. I wish the YMCA were a joint Catholic-Protestant enterprise, with differing religious services for each group. I wish you could find the clergy together elsewhere than on the golf course, though even that neighborliness is better than none.

Religion in Education

Now for the educational program. I wish there could be more of the kind of effort made by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This is adult education, of course, with

many limitations. But it helps. Over and above that is formal education. A great day will have dawned when Protestants try hard to get their own primary education system, many people think, and I do not profess to know whether they are right. At any rate, religion in education is indispensable even from the point of view under discussion here. The mere fact that young people share an experience, regardless of whether it is the same experience, builds solidarity and mutual respect. Though the lines of demarcation between the Catholic faith and all others are tautly drawn, it is just a step over into Protestantism while it is a good many miles to secularism. And I suppose the Protestant will feel that life being what it is, proximity to Catholics is preferable to nearness to the absence of religious belief.

Now if we are to have religion in education we must in my opinion create a modern literature by which it can be buttressed. I am aware that there are many good books and some excellent periodicals, just as there are innumerable bad books and deplorable periodicals. But from the point of view of modern teaching and modern youth we badly need journals of opinion

CATHOLIC BISHOPS SPEAK

"This, in essence, is what we mean by secularism. It is a view of life that limits itself not to the material in exclusion of the spiritual, but to the human here and now in exclusion of man's relation to God here and hereafter. Secularism, or the practical exclusion of God from human thinking and living, is at the root of the world's travail today. It was the fertile soil in which such social monstrosities as fascism, nazism and communism could germinate and grow. It is doing more than anything else to blight our heritage of Christian culture, which integrates the various aspects of human life and renders to God the things that are God's. . . .

"There would be more hope for a just and lasting peace if the leaders of the nations were really convinced that secularism which disregards God, as well as militant atheism which utterly denies Him, offers no sound basis for stable international agreements, for enduring respect for human rights, or for freedom under law."

—Catholic bishops of the United States, speaking through the National Catholic Welfare Conference, November 15, 1947.

which, like the excellent *Jewish Commentary*, permit of a common religious discussion of general cultural problems. If one such journal could be adequately subsidized, a beginning would be made in the process of clarifying religious situations and problems in the light of modern experience. I believe that brilliant Catholic and Protestant collaborators could be secured for such a publication.

Attention to Basic Realities

Understanding would be the goal here as it must be in education generally. But we shall never understand each other unless our discussion is constantly riveted on realities. It is not the slogan or the cliché that matters so desperately, but rather the accumulated layers of ignorance, some of which even take on a fictitious aura of sacredness as time passes. Protestants, for example, know very little about modern Catholic social teaching and practice, and therefore tend to believe that there is somehow a liaison between Fascism and the Church. Catholics, for their part, have scarce an inkling of the holiness so manifest in the Protestant tradition—a holiness which, for my part, I shall confess shamefacedly to have discovered later than I should.

How much we could cherish together in our common American experience if we only would, and how much we after all share of the Christian mission! I dream therefore of a religious education program which while being reputably denominational would nevertheless at the same time visualize the Christian experience in its social totality, in much the same way as great writers like Kenneth Latourette already do. Such a program would stress the intimate relationship between the Christian faith and its Jewish heritage, and it would reverence the nobility of Protestant and Catholic service to religion and humanity. Perhaps at the moment such a program would of necessity be extra-curricular at most public secondary schools and colleges. I believe that at many private institutions it could be introduced very soon without too much difficulty.

Emotion vs. Evidence

Except for this educational program, there is little I can suggest other than that the strenuous days which lie ahead for all the nations will compel us to see minor altercations in the setting of great and ominous decisions. No one can doubt that among the forces which have latterly stirred up latent anti-Catholic feeling is the Communist Party, in the eyes of which the Vatican is the arch-enemy. Perhaps some of the retorts which have come from Catholic sources have not been as wise as the words of the Holy See itself. We must not permit our emotional attitudes toward this difference to becloud either our vision of the issues of freedom in human society or our resolution to sanctify the lives of men. I do not, for instance, question the right of any person, clerical or lay, to report on what he deems to be the situation in any part of the world. But when clergymen, independent or not of their confessions, proceed to issue a statement on an issue as complex as that of the status of religious freedom in Yugoslavia, the normal rules of evidence cannot be waived. It matters relatively little whether Catholics reply. What is important, tremendously important, is whether educated men generally look upon the resultant controversy as just another illustration of the simplicity, intolerance and prejudice of the clergy, of whatever confession. No reputable scholarly layman would venture to issue a statement on conditions in a foreign country unless he knew something about the history of that land, unless he spoke the language, and unless he had taken care to hear both sides of a moot question. Until the ministry decides to live by standards of comparable excellence, it is bound to seem narrow, belligerent and untutored. God knows that secularism is sufficiently rampant. It is more troubling than I can say to discover that professional religion is sometimes its ally.

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

As A Protestant Sees It

By CONRAD BERGENDOFF

No Protestant is capable of presenting *the* Protestant view, for the very nature of Protestantism precludes the possibility of some single authority who speaks for all. I can only give a considered subjective view, hoping that in spirit and in substance it may commend itself to other Protestants as a fair description of the present situation.

With some Protestants I cannot agree. There is, in places, an anti-Catholic sentiment which is of the same parentage as anti-Semitism, or anti-Negro attitudes. It is born of prejudice, very often a heritage of other generations and circumstances, and nurtured by blind hatred. Emotional in its nature, it will be little affected by reason. It can be overcome only by stronger



The Author

Conrad Bergendoff has been president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Illinois, since 1935. He is recognized as an authority on Scandinavian theology and as a leader in the affairs of the Augustana Lutheran Church. At present he is also president of the American Association of Theological Schools. He has written a number of books, including *The Making and Meaning of the Augsburg Confession* (1930) and *Christ as Authority* (1947).

emotions which as Christians and as Americans we hope may be purer and truer.

The problem of Protestant-Roman Catholic relationships can be viewed from three different angles.

In Personal Relations

1. Most Americans of goodwill respect and like Roman Catholics among their acquaintances. In many of their relationships it never occurs to them to draw a distinction based on church membership. If we do remember that they are Catholics we are more apt than not to admire their faithful attendance at Mass, their respect for their churches, their clergy and their Orders, their care for their children's education and for their sick and their poor. Catholic institutions, such as schools, hospitals, sanitariums, are among the finest in the land and are all the more unusual in that they depend on the generosity of the members of the church rather than on the taxes of the state. In daily work and in play, in the affairs of neighborhood and citizenship, Protestants and Roman Catholics in the majority of communities get along well together, and are hardly aware in most experiences of any gulf between them.

In Interchurch Relations

2. It is in the field of interchurch relationships that the Protestant and the Catholic realize that there are differences. The average American Protestant, so used to tolerate differences, notices the differences but may not reflect much on their significance. His own children go to public school; his Roman Catholic neighbor may send his to a parochial school. The Protestant may have a passing notion that probably this sets up psychological barriers among the children of a community, but the idea doesn't long bother him, for does it not seem impossible later to distinguish the products of one or the other system among his fellow citizens? He notices that there is little or no relationship between Catholic and Protestant congregations in his city, but for that matter he has not noted too much cooperation between the Protestant churches. So that doesn't

disturb him. He is more apt to become curious when he finds his daughter keeping company with a Catholic boy and he learns that if there is to be a wedding it is the priest who will officiate. He may not be told that she had to promise, too, that any children of the marriage would be Roman Catholics, but in due course he discovers it.

Once his curiosity is aroused, the Protestant often begins to inquire and he receives some disconcerting replies. He finds that the priest has a power over his parishioners quite different from the influence of his Protestant pastor over his people. He discerns that over the priest are a bishop and higher bishops who make the major decisions, and that the hierarchy establishes the Roman Church in a way bewildering to the American Protestant. He discovers that all the church property of the diocese belongs to the Bishop, and he becomes a bit uneasy as he contemplates the centralization of financial power this represents. If he is a student of history, memories come to him of facts he learned long ago, that at the time of the Reformation the Church was the greatest single landowner, and he thinks he understands more clearly the interest of the Spanish and the Latin-American Catholic churches in the status quo. When he goes to Washington as a tourist, the building of the Apostolic Legate is pointed out. He wonders at the business that goes on there, and he has joined in the protests of his denomination at having a U.S. representative at the Vatican. Altogether our average American Protestant is confused and he suspects that the Roman Church is something different from the organization of his Protestant body on a national scale.

In Catholic Teachings

3. Were our American Protestant at home in the doctrines of the Roman Church he would not have been so surprised at some of the features he found in the organization of that Church. For the teaching of the Roman Church is that it alone is the true Church. It claims descent from the Apostles, and those groups who have fallen away from obedience to the

Roman See are in schism or in heresy. To the Pope alone belongs the right of establishing doctrine and his principal statements as chief teacher are infallible. An organization of world-wide bishoprics proclaims and enforces the decrees of the Church so as to leave little freedom to the local parishioner in the ordering and disciplining of the Church. Hence there can be practically no cooperation between Protestant and Catholic churches as such in the community. On the world stage, the Pope has refused to participate in any of the ecumenical movements of our day, saying in effect that the churches of Christendom can have reunion any time that they come back to the fold whence they strayed, namely, the Church of Rome. We are bidden to behold the unity of the thirteenth century when nations and sovereigns accepted the decisions of the Church, and are told that most of our modern ills stem from the stubborn refusal of groups since the Renaissance and the Reformation to heed the Vicar of Christ in Rome. The Church of Christ on earth is the Church of Rome, and the keys of the Kingdom are in the hands of its hierarchy.

Thus American Protestants look at the complex and difficult situation of Protestant-Catholic relationships. What is the attitude they should hold, and what can they do to solve the problems involved? We shall seek to give three answers to the three points mentioned, in reverse order.

Rejection of Papal Authority

1. On the issue of the supremacy and sovereignty of the Roman Church as taught in its doctrines, the American Protestant will never yield. This was the issue at the Reformation. Luther and the other Reformers denied the right of the papal church to exercise, even in spiritual matters, such absolute jurisdiction. Indeed Luther's stand may be interpreted as directed against this very claim of the papacy. He believed that if a council could be called, the Church could be reformed from within itself. But the development from Hildebrand to the Vatican Council of 1870 was in the direction of absolute au-

thority, and it required a Reformation to set up a contrary interpretation of the nature of the Church of Christ. "Call no man on earth your father" was the injunction of the founder of the Church, and the Protestants have been firm in their belief that no earthly organization or mortal man has either a divine or human right to claim spiritual infallibility.

The consequence may be a group of churches instead of one church. That is not a fatal condition. It is fatal when one church has supreme power and denies that any other than itself is *the* Church. The Protestant position concedes the fallibility of man and allows for a variety of interpretations. Each of these may claim to be perfect, but none of them may claim therefore the right to destroy the others in the name of the only true Church. American Protestantism, like American democracy, respects religious differences. The American Protestant does not seek to coerce the beliefs of the Roman Catholic. He may follow his own doctrines and practices in regard to sacraments, images, vows, but his Church has no right in the name of Christ to implement its claim to be the One Church by depriving dissidents, where it can do so, of civil privileges.

The Protestant and the Roman Catholic have more in common than either is apt to admit. Many Protestants would prefer to be known as Evangelical, for they believe the name "Protestant" is too negative. Protestantism is not a protest against everything in Roman Catholicism, but against the organization of the Roman Church. Protestantism claims as ancient an origin and as long a history as any part of Christendom. Its central doctrines are based on the earliest authorities, the Christian Scriptures. In large areas its beliefs concerning God and Christ and the salvation of man are of the same origin as the Roman. But on the question of authority, the Protestants have not changed from the time of the Reformation which gave them their name. Against a creed and a philosophy which place supreme authority in a hierarchy or its head they will remain Protestants. They will base their attitude towards others

on doctrines which allow both themselves and Roman Catholics to have the freedom to worship, to teach, to live and work together in America as members of the Church of Christ. They appeal to a higher tribunal than the Vatican for the justification of their claim to represent a true expression of Christian faith—a tribunal that deprived Peter of a sword to enforce his will.

Insistence on Religious Liberty

2. In the matter of the relationship of the Protestant to the Roman churches in the United States, the Protestant will realize that the Roman clergy is bound by its doctrines and discipline, but will be on the alert for tendencies which may lead to an undue exercise of influence by the Roman Church on the state. The freedom of worship, teaching, and ministry which the Roman Church possesses is not a grant from a Protestant majority, but inheres as much in Protestant teaching as in American constitutional theory. The Protestant is concerned that this be the case, even if the Roman Church were in the majority.

Much of the unreasoning fear in anti-Roman groups comes from a vague apprehension that the Roman Catholics might in time become the predominant church. In that event, the Protestant envisions a development here that has usually come to pass when the Church of Rome has become dominant—the minority churches are restricted. Italy and Spain are models which American Protestants dread. A belief persists that the Roman Church is interested in freedom only if it is in the minority. There is plenty of history back of the belief, and some evidence from current events. The reception of Protestant missionaries in Mexico and South America—where the Roman Church is supreme—bodes ill for any future time when North America might become Roman Catholic. Of course, Roman spokesmen contend that these are ancient Catholic countries where Protestant missionaries have no place. But on that score, what justifies Roman emissaries to modern Sweden, whose cul-

ture is no less ancient and homogeneous than that of any South American country? Rome seeks to regain lost provinces—Protestants seek new ones. Each has a right to present its cause. Neither has the right, in and through the secular power, to disenfranchise the other. At least, that is the theory of democratic countries. If democracy gives way again to absolute governments we can look for absolute churches and the return of the principle *cuius regio eius religio*.

Practice Better than Theory

3. The pity of such a discussion as this is the apparent result that Protestants and Roman Catholics are arrayed against each other in unending conflict. This is, however, not true in practice. The average Protestant and the average Roman Catholic are only vaguely aware of the theories of their respective churches, and what is best, proceed on other assumptions. They go to Mass or read their Bibles, engage in prayer and acts of devotion, seek to follow the example of the Lord of the Church in doing justly and being merciful. It is in this field that hope lies. The Roman Catholic does not believe that his Protestant neighbors will all go to hell because they do not go to Mass. And the sensible Protestant does not fear that his Roman Catholic friend will vote for a government which would reduce his religious liberty. Undoubtedly each church is having influence on the other. Some Protestants are impressed by Catholic devotion and generosity, and can see reasons for the parochial school in a society which has surrendered to secularism in education as much as Protestants in America have done. Some Roman Catholics behold the spirit and works of Protestant church people and have no doubt that they are members of the same spiritual kingdom. In communities predominantly Catholic, Protestants rarely complain of discrimination in politics, and in overwhelmingly Protestant communities Catholics find little cause for complaint. There are exceptions, certainly, but the American sense of fair play in most instances leads to ready denunciation of bigoted practices.

Protestant people and Catholic people get along together in American business and industry, agriculture and mining, publication, recreation, labor unions, cultural pursuits—the list is long. It is in education, in doctrine, in intermarriage, in ethical problems, that the differences emerge.

As long as the differences are properly evaluated there need be no conflict. No true American wants to force birth control on any group of citizens. No church will be denied its own schools. The Protestant is sympathetic to the Legion of Decency—he wishes the Catholic would feel equally concerned about gambling. The youth of the two groups do not absolutely need to intermarry—as long as the Roman Church holds to its position it would seem advisable that Protestants do not marry Catholics, for Protestant youth are as convinced in their faith as are the Catholics, and it is a poor way to start marriage by forsaking what has been one's religious home. In all these areas Americans can learn to live peaceably with each other, respecting different backgrounds, different heritages, different beliefs and customs.

A Free Church and A Free State

It is only when these differences are interpreted as aberrations from a true Church which would embrace everyone within its temporal authority that voices of protest are raised. Enlisting the state to aid any particular church in its work is the road to dissension and a departure from the American practice. Even if Roman Catholics were in the majority they would have no more right and probably no more success than the Massachusetts Puritans in making the government subservient to their will. It is of the essence of Americanism that the power of the state be absolutely divorced from ecclesiastical authority. This does not mean that citizens are irreligious. It does mean that religion works by example, instruction, persuasion, devotion, not by force of law or government.

Most American citizens are thankful for the freedom this country allows in religion. They wish to keep this freedom

and will be vigilant in resisting any attack upon its foundations, whether those attacks come in the form of foe or friend of the churches. Most American citizens feel that there is room for both Protestants and Catholics, and the interrelationships of Protestant and Catholic citizens are better than the theories of their churches on those relationships. If these churches foster enmity between their respective memberships, no amount of apologetics in defense of their faith will obliterate their apostasy from that which is the greatest of Christian virtues, namely, love.

PROTESTANTS AND OTHER AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

There is no longer any doubt that separation of Church and State, establishment of religion, public aid to private and parochial schools, religion in education and the like will be hot issues in the years ahead. The only question is: will these issues be thrashed out in the forum of democratic discussion or will they be fought on the battlefield of intolerance, prejudice and strife?

One organized expression of concern for these problems among Protestants is known as "Protestants and other Americans United for Separation of Church and State." It had its beginning nearly two years ago in a small group which met in Washington, D.C. These meetings expanded until November, 1947 when plans for an organization were completed at a conference held in Chicago. Leaders of the movement include Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dr. John A. Mackay, Dr. Edwin McNeil Poteat, Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, Dr. J. M. Dawson and Rev. Ellis Dana. The office of Dr. Dawson, executive secretary of the Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations established by the South-

ern, Northern and Negro Baptists, in Washington, D.C., served as the base of operation in the developmental stages. A Committee including the officers and representatives of such groups as the Scottish Rite Masons, Southern Jurisdiction, and the National Association of Evangelicals (fundamentalists) was assigned responsibility for perfecting a statement of purpose and policy which will be released in mid-January 1948. Permanent headquarters of the organization will be in Washington, D.C. In addition to the officers, there will be an executive secretary, an executive committee and a national advisory board of 125 to 250 members.

Churches and the general public will hear about this movement in the months ahead. It should be remembered that it is a group of interested individuals and not the Protestant churches acting officially. Certainly church people will want to examine this and every other organization devoted to this important problem with a critical and discerning eye.

—Thomas B. Keehn

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The Reader Writes

Contributions to this department, a regular feature of the magazine, will be welcomed. Unless it is specified otherwise, any communications addressed to the Editors will be considered available for publication. Letters should be brief, and the Editors reserve the right to omit portions without changing the sense. Unsigned letters will not be published, except where anonymity is obviously warranted. Address communications to the Editors, Box M, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

Charting Our Economy

Sirs:

Thank you for sending me the pamphlet, "Charting Our Economy," prepared by Professor Seymour E. Harris of Harvard.

Professor Harris, in preparing, and the Council for Social Action in distributing this popularization of the economic problems confronting our country and the means to their solution have performed a genuine service to every citizen. The science of economics is devoting itself more and more to the task of developing practical programs for improving the conditions under which people live. In a democracy, such programs are only of academic value unless they are understood and approved by the people. Those who add to this understanding are doing a job at least as important as the technical work being done by professional economists.

In most respects, I agree with Professor Harris' analysis and proposals. I would want to modify his statement that the Employment Act of 1946, under which the Council of Economic Advisers functions, is a weaker or less desirable statute than the original "Full Employment Bill." On the contrary, while the

original bill relied mainly upon one method of maintaining full employment, the Act calls for the wise utilization in just proportion of all the resources of the Government and of our enterprise system to maintain maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. It places no limitations upon what the Council of Economic Advisers may recommend to the President, or what the President may recommend to the Congress, or what the Congress may enact, except the requirement that we seek to maintain a free, competitive economy and that specific programs be set in the context of all "essential considerations of national policy." I believe that the people should know that the Act is entirely adequate, and that success in attaining its objectives will depend upon the wisdom with which it is used by the Government and by the people.

I hope that the Council of Economic Advisers is doing a good job. But if its work is deficient in any respect, this cannot be blamed upon the Act under which it operates. The Congress enacted a good law. It remains for us to make the most of the opportunities which it affords.

Leon H. Keyserling
Council of Economic Advisers
Washington, D.C.

Sirs:

I am indeed glad to comment on Mr. Keyserling's note concerning some aspects of my article "Charting Our Economy," which appeared in the October 1947 issue of SOCIAL ACTION.

The adequacy of an Act to deal with a situation can be examined both in terms of the debate and Congressional reports which precede its passage, and the language used in the Act. No one who watched this legislation go through Congress from 1944 to 1946 could fail to note the differences between the final Act and the early proposals made by Senator Murray and others. Undoubtedly, as Mr. Keyserling says, in some respects the final legislation was an improvement over the early version. But in one important respect, it was a considerably watered down version of the original legislation. Both the Act and the discussion of the pending legislation made it clear that the appropriate attack was to be via patching up private enterprise, operating through private enterprise, and not essentially through government operation or government intervention. To those of us who believe (1) that in a modern dynamic industrial society, government necessarily has to have an important place, not only as a balance wheel, but as part of the every-day machinery, and (2) that unless government plays its part the system of private enterprise is likely to collapse, the Act was a disappointment. I thus explain such clauses as the one in which Congress declares "that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations and other essential considerations of national policy. . . ."

Should we have a collapse in 1948 or 1950, the appropriate policy would be a public investment pol-

icy, reduction of taxes, large spending under the social security program, easing of monetary policy, etc. (In a book just written, *An Economic Program for America*, 25 liberals, inclusive of the writer, many high in government in the New Deal days, present a program in detail.) These policies might all be forthcoming; but I doubt that they could be interpreted as those envisaged under the Employment Act. What is even more disturbing is that proper preparations are not being made: e.g., an expanded social security program, blueprints for productive public investment, high taxes and repayment of significant amounts of the public debt now so that taxes might be reduced and debt incurred later.

These weaknesses in our policy and preparation are not the fault of the President's Council. Given the existing legislation and the spirit of Congress, they have done an admirable job. They might indeed depend less on exhortations to cut prices and emphasize more appropriate anti-inflation policy. But their recommendations continue to improve; and their report on the Marshall Plan, both in its external and internal aspects, was admirable.

I am also aware of the fact that the college professor, unhampered by the responsibilities of public office, can speak and write with a bluntness that is denied to the economic practitioner.

Seymour E. Harris

Fair Play in Foreign Trade

Sirs:

I am especially glad to note the support Dr. Bidwell gives (*Social Action*, Sept. 1947) to the proposed International Trade Organization and the Department's efforts to lower tariff barriers throughout the world.

Willard L. Thorp
Assistant Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

On To Action

Those who desire to improve Catholic-Protestant relations should be especially concerned just now with one aspect of the complex field—that of education. Here are a few criteria for effective action on this problem.

1. Action should proceed from religious principles. According to Protestant faith both Church and State were created by God and are responsible to Him for their action towards each other. The State must safeguard the elementary rights of the Church. The Church must help the State perform its true function as a member of the family of nations. Church and State share responsibility for education. The doctrine of separation of Church and State does not convey the full meaning of their relationship.

2. Positive support is needed for education—and for religious education. Keeping children off parochial school busses is not sufficient answer to the secularism of much public education. Federal aid for the public schools is essential to the preservation of free, equal and universal education. Religious instruction is essential to full, fair and democratic education.

3. Effective organization is needed to create informed public opinion, to elect school board members and support administrators who will strengthen public education, and to work for adequate state and national legislation.

4. Action should go forward on a wide front. Vital faith must pervade the whole community if it is to affect the schools wholesomely. The task is total.

5. Sustained attention to the needs of public education is required. It takes prolonged effort to change laws, customs and institutions. This is not a crusade for a decade; it is the job of a generation.

Ray Gibbons